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ABSTRACT

Written in 1965, the author describes the initial stages in the development of Man and Politics, a three year social studies curriculum for students ages 12-14. The author notes that the reason for choosing the political theme is that the school is the most influential agent of political socialization in the child's life. The report outlines the concepts of intellect and education upon which the curriculum is based, the goals, rationale, central theme, and framework of the curriculum, and describes the three units. The curriculum is based on discovery learning and the goals are described as providing children with experience in generalization, valuing, and causality. Following a discussion of the framework of the course, the three units are outlined. Inventing the Western World (Grade 7) encompasses the time span from the 5th century B.C. to 1600 A.D. and presents a variety of case studies related to power and political culture. From Subject to Citizen (Grade 8) draws its material from 17th and 18th century British and American experience. The Civic Culture (Grade 9) examines the nature, problems, prospects, and evolution of American political culture. Materials are designed to: provide children with the kind of data that scholars themselves work with, present data that demand deductive analysis, give children an opportunity to discover structure in the relationship of ideas, and increase the power of the student to deal with the modern condition. (Author/RC)

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Occasional Paper No. 4

Man and Politics

Curriculum Models for Junior High School Social Studies

BY

Franklin Patterson

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The Social Studies Curriculum Program

Educational Services Incorporated

September 1965

Introduction

"Man and Politics" by Dr. Franklin K. Patterson states the objectives of the three-year junior high school sequence that is now being developed by the Social Studies Program of Educational Services Incorporated. It also describes in some detail some of the actual units and teaching materials for the sequence which have been and are being developed. Thus, "Man and Politics" does for the Junior High School Project what "Man: A Course of Study" by Dr. Bruner (Occasional Paper No. 3) did for the Elementary Project. The two Papers supplement each other but it should be noted that "Man and Politics" was written some three months after "Man: A Course of Study."

Dr. Patterson, Director of the Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs, Tufts University, is currently devoting a major portion of his time to the Social Studies Program at Educational Services Incorporated. He is in direct charge of the Junior High School Project and is a member of the Social Studies Executive Committee.

PETER WOLFF
Editorial Director

SEPTEMBER, 1965

Man and Politics

by Franklin K. Patterson

The paper that follows is an attempt to state the main outlines and suggest some of the materials of the Junior High School Project in the ESI Social Studies Curriculum Program. In a sense, this is a little like trying to use a linotype machine on quicksilver. For three years now, the work of our Project has proceeded with a remarkable kind of freedom to experiment and innovate. As a result, its product is about as easy to catch and describe as it is to pick up quicksilver spilled on a table in a moving train. A picture of it at any given moment inevitably misses focus and detail. I can only hope that the reader will realize that there is far more to the Project – in terms of ideas, materials for children and teachers, unresolved experiments and questions, and so on – than this paper can possibly capture.

The quicksilver quality of the real Project comes from the many people who contribute to its design and substance. It is impossible with any fairness to describe in brief the innumerable contributions that teachers, scholars, researchers, school administrators, and others have made to the Project so far. Nor is it possible to describe adequately the many ways that my senior colleagues in the ESI Social Studies Curriculum Program – Elting E. Morison, Jerome S. Bruner, and Morton White – have helped shape our effort to turn out new instructional materials of quality. An appendix lists all of those who have in one way or another been part of the "we" of the Project to this point. Some have made enormous contributions; others have played lesser roles. But all have given generously to a common task.

Most of those I mention in the appendix have served in the small working parties which are the backbone of our effort. Each working party is composed of teachers, university scholars, and research assistants. Some have been in full-time positions with the Project; others have contributed as consultants. The differences in experience and kinds of competence represented in the working parties have given them a unique kind of strength for the task of curriculum-building.

Grateful mention also should be made of the contributions of interested publishers; of libraries including the Folger and others; of the resources of special disciplines, such as the American Geographical Society; and of scholars and school leaders who have taken time to advise us. Not least, the work of the Junior High School Project would not have been possible without the constant encouragement of James R. Killian, Jerrold R. Zacharias, and Gilbert Oakley of ESI, and the generous support of the Ford Foundation.

The Hazards of Choice

The utility of materials in the social studies should lie in their relevance to the human condition. They should excite interest, curiosity, and concern on the part of children. They should be rich with opportunities for children to organize data, follow hunches, form and test hypotheses, draw inferences, and achieve defensible generalizations about the kinds of things that matter in man's life in society.

With such criteria in mind, we have hazarded to design curriculum models for junior high school social studies around a central organizing theme: *Man As A Political Being*. This theme is used by us for the school years when children are twelve to fourteen years old and are in grades seven through nine. We think that these school years should be flexible and not graded in the usual rigid manner. But because most American schools still use a fixed system of grade-years, we refer to parts of our three-year sequence by grade as a matter of convenience.

In the curriculum models built around *Man As A Political Being*, we hope that subject content and pedagogy are inseparably related. We hope, too, that children will find themselves opening doors that lead to increased intellectual discipline and an enlarged sense of humanity. We do not pretend that our curriculum designs are all-purpose or prescriptive. They are models of possibility. They are not inclusive, giving "coverage" of "everything important" about man and society. Our curriculum models are made up of a few selected pieces of man's total experience, his knowledge about himself, and his unanswered questions. We do not offer them either as linear history or as compressed ver-

sions of the several social sciences. They are historical in that they are from the past, but largely in Croce's sense that the past has no meaningful existence except as it exists for us, as it is given meaning by us. They are related to social science in the sense that they draw upon and use to some extent the ideas and strategies of inquiry of the social science disciplines.

In our choice of what to do, we have tried to be aware of children as the point of it all. I have thought of the children I have watched in the classrooms of a hundred suburbs, caged in a treadmill system of superficial education where their survival against boredom was managed only by the resilience which is youth's most remarkable possession. I have thought of the treadmill system in the schools of the city, of the enormous gulf between the schools and the children of the urban poor, and of the boys and girls I once knew and worked with under the shadow of Brooklyn Bridge. Children in all their individual diversity have been on our minds. More than that, in dozens of classrooms from New York to the Rockies and in try-out laboratory sessions in Cambridge, children have helped in the empirical development of our materials.

We have tried to be aware, too, of the practical realities with which junior high school teachers live and work. These teachers are hard-pressed by their own treadmill of hourly classes, facing as many as 180 or more children a day, five days a week. They are burdened by non-teaching monitorial and clerical duties. They lead hectic, harried work-lives that leave many of them eventually overcome by the pervasive *resentiment* Friedenberg writes of, with only a shining few possessed of enough energy and lasting purpose to escape the trap of fatigue and cynicism. To ask today's junior high school teachers to renew the social studies curriculum on their own, helped a little by over-worked supervisors and an occasional consultant, is to ask the impossible. The memory of teaching history and social studies to twelve-year-old boys and girls in an American public school is still vivid in my own mind; I can recapture all too easily the travail as well as the little triumphs of the real thing. The conditions that could make for inventive, sensitive teaching were hard to come by. Our present choice has been to help teachers by producing the kinds of materials they might like to prepare themselves had they world enough and time. We have tried to do this with the full-time help of some very fine teachers, working side by side with university scholars.

Such considerations lie behind the choices we have made in curriculum construction. In addition, we have been constantly concerned with the need to deal with what is known about intellect, learning, and teaching as we develop and test new curriculum models. Before turning to a discussion of the organizing ideas, substantive content, and curriculum materials of our junior high school sequence, it may be useful to review some of the concepts of intellect and education upon which our work is based.

Intellect, Discovery, and Structure

Bruner and others are moving towards a new view of the relationship between intellect and the process of education. In this connection, the development of a unified theory of human intellect which organizes intellectual abilities into a single system has been outlined persuasively by Guilford.[1] By factor analysis, components of intelligence have been distinguished as unique abilities needed to do well in certain kinds of tasks or tests. The factors themselves may be grouped into three classes: operations, contents, and products. Guilford suggests that "the three faces of intellect" can be represented by a three-dimensional model, with each dimension showing one of the modes of variation of the factors. Each cell in his model calls for a particular kind of intellectual ability that can be described in terms of operation, content, and product, because each cell is at the intersection of a unique combination of these three classes. Thus, "originality" in producing original, clever, or outlandish new formulations from given semantic content, is an example of the intersection of an operations factor (divergent thinking), a contents factor (semantic content), and a products factor (transformation).

Several relevant points arise out of Guilford's view of the structure of intellect. These bear rather directly on the process of education and the development of curriculum models.

One point has to do with the multi-dimensional character of intelligence. Over 50 intelligence factors are known already, and Guilford's theoretical model predicts as many as 120 distinct abilities, if each cell of the model contains a factor. Guilford feels that more than 120 factors of intellect will ultimately show up in testing and analysis. To know an individual's intellectual

Superior numbers indicate references, to be found on page 60.

resources will require a surprisingly large number of scores. Since high variation and complexity within individual resources of intellect are increasingly evident, limited-option curriculum materials and single text books become as indefensible as unidimensional "intelligence scores" are in sorting children into sheep and goats.

A second point of fundamental importance to educational planning underlines much of what Bruner has told us. Guilford puts it this way:

> . . . we might well undergo transformations with respect to our conception of the learner and of the process of learning. Under the prevailing conception, the learner is a kind of stimulus-response device, much on the order of a vending machine. You put in a coin, and something comes out. The machine learns what reaction to put out when a certain coin is put in. If, instead, we think of the learner as an agent for dealing with information, *where information is defined very broadly*, we have something more analogous to an electronic computer. We feed a computer information; it stores that information; it uses that information for generating new information, either by way of divergent or convergent thinking; and it evaluates its own results. Advantages that a human learner has over a computer include the step of seeking and discovering new information from sources outside itself and the step of programming itself. . . . At any rate, this conception of the learner leads us to the idea that *learning is discovery of information*, not merely the formation of associations, particularly associations in the form of stimulus-response connections. I am aware of the fact that my proposal is rank heresy. But if we are to make significant progress in our understanding of the so-called higher mental processes of thinking, problem-solving, and creative thinking, some drastic modifications are due in our theory.
>
> The idea that education is a matter of training the mind or of training the intellect has been rather unpopular. . . . [The] emphasis has been upon the learning of rather specific habits or skills. If we take our cue from factor theory, however, we recognize that most learning probably has both specific and general aspects or components. . . . *The best position for educators to take is that possibly every intellectual factor can be developed in individuals at least to some extent by learning.*[2]

Bruner deals beautifully with the relationship between intellect and learning-as-discovery in his set of essays *On Knowing*. He comments that in the various new curriculum projects undertaken in America during recent years, "one encounters repeatedly an expression of faith in the powerful effects that come from permitting the student to put things together for himself, to be his own discoverer." [3] Bruner hypothesizes that learning through discovery may indeed confer benefits which justify the faith of the new curriculum builders. These presumptive benefits are summarized by Bruner thus:

1. *An increase in intellectual potency*

Emphasis on discovery in learning has precisely the effect on the learner of leading him to be a constructionist, to organize what he is encountering in a manner not only designed to discover regularity and relatedness, but also to avoid the kind of information drift that fails to keep account of the uses to which information might have to be put. Emphasis on discovery, indeed, helps the child to learn the varieties of problem solving, of transforming information for better use, helps him to learn how to go about the very task of learning.[4]

2. *A shift from extrinsic to intrinsic rewards*

The hypothesis I [writes Bruner] would propose here is that to the degree that one is able to approach learning as a task of discovering something rather than "learning about" it, to that degree there will be a tendency for the child to work with the autonomy of self-reward or, more properly, be rewarded by discovery itself. . . . The child comes to manipulate his environment more actively and achieves his gratification from coping with problems. As he finds symbolic modes of representing and transforming the environment, there is an accompanying decline in the importance of stimulus-response-reward sequences.[5]

3. *Learning the heuristics of discovering*

It is my hunch that it is only through the exercise of problem solving and the effort of discovery that one learns the working heuristics of discovery; the more one has practice, the more likely one is to generalize what one has learned into a style of problem solving or inquiry that serves for any kind of task encountered. . . . I think the matter is self-evident, but what is unclear is the kinds of training and teaching that produce the best effects. . . .

> Practice in inquiry, in trying to figure out things for oneself is indeed what is needed—but in what form? Of only one thing am I convinced: I have never seen anybody improve in the art and technique of inquiry by any means other than engaging in inquiry.[6]

4. *Aid to conserving memory*

> [The] . . . principal problem of human memory is not storage but retrieval. . . . The key to retrieval is organization or, in even simpler terms, knowing where to find information that has been put into memory. . . . One can cite a myriad of findings to indicate that any organization of information that reduces the aggregate complexity of material by imbedding it into a cognitive process a person has constructed for himself will make that material more accessible for retrieval. . . . Thus, the very attitudes and activities that characterize figuring out or discovering things for oneself also seem to have the effect of conserving memory.[7]

Bruner distinguishes two kinds of teaching: "that which takes place in the *expository mode* and that in the *hypothetical mode*." [8] In the former, the teacher is largely an expositor or teller while the student is a listener or passive recipient. In the hypothetical mode, the relationship of teacher with student is much more reciprocal and cooperative. The student is not a passive listener, but engages with the teacher in the process of acquiring information, formulating hypotheses about it, and evaluating information and statements. This contrast of modes involves the risk of oversimplification, but, granted a general difference between them, it is "the hypothetical mode which characterizes the teaching that encourages discovery." [9]

All that I have reviewed in this section leads to a fundamental question. If we assume that intellect is multi-dimensional and capable of enormously variable operation-content-product combinations, that every intellectual factor can be developed by learning, that learning in the most beneficial sense is discovery, and that learning by discovery is most encouraged by the hypothetical mode of teaching, where then are we led in curriculum construction? What is a defensible way of proceeding in making new social studies curriculum models for – to be specific – children who are twelve to fourteen years old?

I think no one has more than hunch or bias to go by at this stage of the game. Some, like Holt, apprehend the problem with

a naiveté which would be charming if it were less angry and shallow. His construction is that we have just two alternatives.

The first alternative, as Holt sees it, is to go at curriculum the way schools presumably do now, with these ideas:

> 1.) Of the vast body of human knowledge, there are certain bits and pieces that can be called essential, that everyone should know; 2.) the extent to which a person can be considered educated, qualified to live intelligently in today's world and be a useful member of society, depends on the amount of this essential knowledge that he carries about with him; 3.) it is the duty of the schools, therefore, to get as much of this essential knowledge as possible into the minds of children. Thus we find ourselves trying to poke certain facts, recipes, and ideas down the gullets of every child in school. . . .[10]

Repelled by this alternative, Holt sees only one other way to move. This is in the direction of the anti- or non-curriculum, where the affairs of learning, the choices of what to learn, when and how, would be wholly unstructured by adults and left to children altogether to determine. From premises about intellect, learning, and discovery not unlike those I have reviewed, Holt concludes that adult-conceived "curriculum" (which he imagines could have only the form and meaning established in his first alternative) should be thrown out altogether:

> (We must) sweep this nonsense out of the way (he writes) . . . We cannot have real learning in school if we think it is our duty and our right to tell children what they must learn. We cannot know, at any moment, what particular bit of knowledge or understanding a child needs most, will most strengthen and best fit his model of reality. Only he can do this. He may not do it very well, but he can do it a hundred times better than we can. The most we can do is try to help, by letting him know roughly what is available and where he can look for it. Choosing what he wants to learn and what he does is not something he must do for himself.[11]

The method of discovery certainly rules out the first alternative Holt sketches. And the concept of structure in the process of education rejects the idea of an anti-curriculum, in which the child is all. Modern curriculum building cannot intelligently take either the "stuff their gullets" route or the route of romantic anarchy.

We are concerned, as Guilford suggests we should be, with learning and transfer of a general order – as well as with the learning and transfer of specific habits and skills. General or nonspecific transfer means the transfer of principles and attitudes:

> In essence, it consists of learning initially not a skill but a general idea, which can then be used as a basis for recognizing subsequent problems as special cases of the idea originally mastered. This type of transfer is at the heart of the educational process – the continual broadening and deepening of knowledge in terms of basic and general ideas.[12]

Our position with regard to curriculum development in junior high school social studies is that as adults:

1. We have a responsibility to gear our curriculum and pedagogy to fundamental ideas of the social studies. This implies that we must – with all the wise counsel we can get – *decide* what fundamental ideas constitute the structure of what we propose to teach.

2. We must develop teaching materials in which these ideas are given a central role.

3. We must design materials not only to enable students to grasp and wrestle with fundamental ideas, but to give them exciting experience in inquiry and discovery which will develop their capacities and appetite for further learning.

In following sections, I suggest the directions in which we have moved from this position as a base. We have established a framework of ideas for a three-year sequence in social studies for twelve to fourteen-year old children. Within this framework, we have thought of certain ideas as being central for each of the three course-years. For the first and third years, we are developing prototype units of instruction built around materials designed to maximize student opportunity for manipulation, analysis, and generalization about data. In the middle year of the three – roughly the eighth grade – we have gone the farthest in establishing a structure of ideas and a series of units of material through which the act of discovery may be exercised.

We are attempting, then, not to set up a curriculum of "essential information" with which the gullets of children must be stuffed. Nor are we abdicating the adult role and leaving it to

children to construct their own education alone. Instead, we are trying to relate the study of man and society to the experience of discovery on the part of children, and in doing so engage and enlarge as many factors of intellect as we can.

Generalization, Valuing, and the Idea of Causality

In the broad context of social studies as an integration of history and social science, three of the principal ends curriculum should serve have to do with generalization, valuing, and the idea of causality.

We are all chronic generalizers, of necessity. Generalizing is one of our most fundamental ways of coping with the immense variety of experience. It is a commonplace that our perception of present physical and social phenomena tends to be shaped or stereotyped by what we have seen or understood in the past. Much of what we see in the new is the memory of an earlier perception, functioning for us as a generalization. Not infrequently, such generalizations function with a significant load of error, since the new phenomenon may not really be congruent with a stereotyped perception it is supposed to fit. What Potter calls "latent generalizations" are likely to pervade and underlie, most often unconsciously, our explicit statements about data, experience, and ideas.[13] Given that generalization is inescapable and necessary, and that it can all too easily be dysfunctional, it is part of the business of education to help people generalize well. Education should lead into the habit of pulling latent generalizations – our own and those of others – out into the light of day. In the case of our own curriculum, we think our materials should give children experience in making generalizations that are, as far as possible, rational, explicit, and defensible. Part of our task is to teach children to generalize intelligently and not to operate on "unrecognized, half-hidden assumptions which remain unordered and chaotic."[14]

A special case of the act of generalization is that of valuing. The need to judge, if not in our bones, is certainly in the lives we lead. Further, to try to exclude the act of valuing from the act of knowing in the study of society is an empty quest. What Carr points out for historians could be said with equal relevance

for social scientists, who frequently proceed as though the value problem did not exist:

> When we seek to know the facts, the questions which we ask, and therefore the answers which we obtain, are prompted by our system of values. Our picture of the facts of our environment is moulded by our values, i.e., by the categories through which we approach the facts; and this picture is one of the important facts which we have to take into account. Values enter into our facts and are an essential part of them. Our values are an essential part of our equipment as human beings.[15]

Truth straddles the world of fact and the world of value; the search for truth ineludibly involves us in questions of value as well as fact. Using Potter's nomenclature, we can say that a major problem of social knowledge in this connection is unawareness of the latent values that affects one's search. In the ESI Social Studies Program, we are trying to build our curriculum models so that children can consciously encounter the fact of valuing as well as the value of fact, and wrestle with the dilemmas and ambiguities these interlocked realities expose one to.

Finally, we have a basic concern for introducing children to an awareness and grasp of the idea of causality – and some measure of its complexity. With Carr, we take it that "the study of history is a study of causes," and that "the historian deals in a multiplicity of causes."[16] While the student of society must work through the multiplication of causes, he is equally engaged in working through their simplification in order to get at regularities and generalizations. Unhappily, except for such contributions as those of Carr, Potter, and J. H. Hexter,[17] one does not find as much acknowledgement of all this among historians as one would expect. Potter's criticism of historians in the United States is severe:

> The literature of their method and the procedures of their training give so little attention to the systematic analysis of such relationships (between separate items of data involving effects) that a majority of those trained in history have never confronted the general question of the nature of causation. . . .[18]

Historians often appear to feel they are "confining themselves to facts," and not engaging in interpretation: "A prudent man might avoid needless exposure to criticism if he would refrain

from speaking of causes as such."[19] If criticism of this kind applies to historians, it fits many social scientists infinitely better. Among them, for the most part, the question of causality is dealt with in such a gingerly fashion that one can hardly find it in the thickets of multivariate analysis and the "analysis of change through time."[20]

Without entering into the quarrels of historians about the appropriateness of trying to deal with causes, and without probing into the coyness of social researchers on the subject, we place our money on the need for a social studies curriculum to open up the idea of causality, its uses and hazards. Everyday life would be impossible – or at best a nightmare out of Kafka – if we could not assume that events have causes and that in principle the causes may be ascertained. Similarly, the social past would be only a history of the absurd if we ruled out causality considerations as a way of finding patterns and coherences enough to make the world comprehensible. We therefore have designed materials as best as we can to lead children to the question of Why? and Whither?

Generalization, valuing, and causality thus are major points of emphasis in what we are proposing for children to study.

Children and the World as Political

The basic orientation we have chosen for a three year junior high school social studies program is towards political aspects of man's life. This choice was made for several reasons.

One reason is that we felt it essential, out of all the substantive options available, to center on a dimension of social experience which has a commanding significance and which in various ways touches the lives of every person. Further, studies long have indicated that, as Charles E. Merriam observed in 1931, political development is a part of childhood.[21] Currently, David Easton and Robert D. Hess of the University of Chicago are studying the political attitudes of some twelve thousand children in eight cities in grades two through eight. The conclusions of their study are not yet published, but their work so far confirms Merriam's statement and adds much that is interesting to consider. For example, it appears that the influence of the family is more

limited than had earlier been thought, and that *the school emerges as the most influential agent of political socialization in the child's life.*[22]

If this is true – and in view of the American school's historic commitment to education for citizenship it seems likely – then what happens in the school's treatment of politics and governance is crucial. Several possibilities and outcomes are evident.

For one thing, classroom instruction may result in a kind of "copybook civics" and mythic history which leads a child to have unrealistic perceptions of the citizen's role and the nature of governance. If we instill in children a utopian view of the citizen and his government, we may unwittingly contribute to his later disillusionment and political alienation. There will be less than human perfection in the political world he grows up into. Politics will be a vigorous, earthy, and conflictful part of all government, public and private, and he had best know it in realistic terms. If what he learns in school is only a prettified version of what politics and governance *ought* to be, he will be ill-equipped to deal with what politics and governance really *are* in human life. To achieve political maturity, he needs to move toward a level of rational insight and ultimate activism in which he can perceive the realities of the political structure, can hold political goals which are operationally possible, and share in developing institutions through which these goals may be realized.

Through the school, children can learn to understand an idea of citizenship which requires genuine political maturity. Citizenship within the western tradition has been defined with deceptive simplicity by D. W. Brogan, the British political scientist:

> What is this idea? It seems to me to have two aspects. The first – possibly the most important, certainly the most novel – aspect is the assumption that every citizen has the right to be consulted on the conduct of the political society and the duty of having something to contribute to the general consultation. The second aspect is the converse of the first. The citizen who has a right to be consulted is bound by the results of the consultation. His duties flow from his rights.[23]

In understanding Brogan's definition, it is necessary to note that he uses the term "political society" instead of "government." He recognizes that government, complex as it is, is only one of many organized and informal structures of power, influence, and relationship in which the citizen finds himself. The individual enters

into a political society at many levels and in different roles.

It appears to us not only possible but desirable for the school to lead children into study of the dynamic role of politics in human existence at many levels. We feel that: a) effectively functioning citizens in a democratic society need as sound cognitive maps of political life as they can develop; b) not only attitudes, but a person's whole style of political relationships is influenced in manifold ways by intellectual processes;[23] and c) cognitive maps, attitudes, and fundamental intellectual conceptualizations about politics are substantially affected by the school by the end of early adolescence.

The Limitations and Uses of Political Science

Choosing any single field of the social studies as pivotal for a major block of the curriculum has its limitations as well as its uses. Let us take a look for a moment at both with regard to political science.

There are those who would claim that political science is neither political nor scientific. The field of study, its scope, methodology, and style are matters of controversy among the scholars involved. The internal divisions of political science are analogous in a sense to the conflicts and uncertainties of an adolescent. As a field, political science is not altogether sure what it is or what it wants to be. Its theoretical structure is diverse, at best potentially rich, but lacking in coherent, clear, accepted definition.

Specialists in traditional descriptive studies of institutions and governmental forms are mixed in with historical students of political thought and philosophy; these rub elbows with innovators of public administration procedures, historians of political events, biographers of political persons, students of international relations and diplomacy, and others. Since Graham Wallas, there has been a mounting invasion of the study of politics and governance by all manner of academic outlanders, oriented toward behavioral, quantitative, psychoanalytical, or other exotic approaches; speaking a language and using instruments, statistical procedures, and hypotheses which seem as outrageous as they are incomprehensible to the more traditional denizens of the

field. What was a simple, happy domain half a century ago now is poached in by political sociologists, social psychologists, semanticists, survey researchers, students of personality and character, and others.

The remarkable diversity of the field, its internal conflicts, its lack of an agreed-upon coherent theoretical structure, its ambiguities, and its current growth in many directions, combine to make it complicated to use for reconstruction of social studies in the schools.

At the same time, the character of the field of political science ironically may make it useful in developing a social studies curriculum. By definition, we want our social studies curriculum to shed light on man and society from a variety of points of view; e.g., from those of history, economics, sociology, geography, psychology, and anthropology. The fact that modern political science has some of all these fields, and more, in it may turn out to be a virtue for social studies curriculum purposes. In an almost embarrassing sense, nothing human is alien to political science. Through political science, we draw upon a number of disciplines for materials and ideas useful to a curriculum.

But political science yields certain powerful ideas and questions of its own which are also useful to us in establishing the major framework of a junior high school social studies curriculum. The next section suggests what we see these to be.

Power and Political Culture

Our central theme for a three-year junior high school sequence in the social studies, *Man As A Political Being*, is certainly no newer than the *Politics* of Aristotle. The theme is a not very happy shorthand for what our colleague Elting Morison has referred to as ". . . one of the most perplexing ambiguities in human experience . . . posed by the fact that man is both a private, separate, independent being and, as Aristotle said, 'a political animal' – a member of a community. He is himself, and citizen, and these can be quite different things at different times."[25] By definition, course material that proposes to offer the study of man as a political animal becomes caught up in the ambiguities and difficulties Morison suggests. Our hunch is that this is all to the good.

Two fundamental concepts of political science provide the principal sources from which the questions and organizing considerations of our junior high school social studies curriculum proceed. The first of these is the concept of *power*, particularly political power, in human society. The second concept is that of *political culture*. Let me treat each of these briefly and suggest the utility we feel that they have in giving structure to the social studies curriculum.

Because one cannot approach the polity for study or action without encountering relationships of governor and governed, political scientists have tended to single out power as the feature of human relationships of deepest interest to them. Not too many years ago, Hans Morgenthau suggested recognizing power as the central concept of the theory of politics and using it as the core of a new collegiate curriculum of political science:

> On the one hand, the curriculum must take into account the fact that its concept (power) is a general social phenomenon which manifests itself most typically in the political sphere, but is not limited to it. The phenomenon of power and the social configurations to which it gives rise in the political sphere play an important, yet largely neglected, part in all social life. A configuration, such as the balance of power, for instance, is a general social phenomenon to be found on all levels of social interaction.[26]

Indeed, it is the pervasiveness of power as a factor in human relationships that makes it a productive concept to work with in the social studies. As Merriam said, "It is a creature of habits, of culture patterns woven deeply into the lives of men. . . ."[27] Merriam argued against drawing too sharp a line between political and other forms of power, suggesting that a clearer view is gained by recognizing similarities between power in one context and in another.

The concept of power has been used in a number of fields other than political science. It has been the focus of a considerable historical literature, particularly in recent years. American historians who have studied power in the colonial and other periods include Jack P. Green, William A. Reavis, Bernard Bailyn, Sigmund Diamond, J. R. Pole, Richard McCormick, John Morton Blum, and others. In sociology, the work of Floyd Hunter, N. W. Polsby, and C. Wright Mills suggests how variously and extensively the concept of power has been explored.

The concept has had use even in child study, where Marion E. Turner's unusual *verbatim* reports of the conversations of a group of children four to nine years of age deal in part with "power factors in children's play." [28] Children in the hierarchies of our family life and our schools are perceiving, assessing, and engaging in power relationships constantly. In this sense, there is probably no social subject matter more available to children – and less used by schools for purposes of study – than that covered by the concept of power.

The concept of power defined in political terms is a tool for inquiring into and ordering political events and developments. Politics as power consists basically of the relationships of governors and the governed. This is not to say that power is one-sided, operating only by command from above. As Key once wrote, the "power relationship is reciprocal, and the subject may affect the ruler more profoundly than the ruler affects the subject." [29] A working political system consists of a multiplicity of power relationships which, taken together, assume characteristic forms. Countless efforts have been made to categorize structures of power into institutions and types of government. This is harder to do than it once seemed, because we find that the real world of power, like social life generally, hardly ever comes in neat packages. Even though power relationships within all societies tend to be organized into systems of authority, the roles and relationships involved – no matter how prescriptive – are occupied always by very human beings. Therein lies the drama, comedy, tragedy, and fascination of politics.

Using power as a central organizing concept for our three-year junior high school sequence on *Man As A Political Being* generates questions with which children can look at a wide range of human phenomena, all the way from power relationships in their own schools to power relationships in the death of the Roman Republic. Some of these questions are:

What is power in human society?

Why is power a part of human society?

What does power rely upon?

What are the values of power?

What are the evils of power?

How do people protect themselves against excesses of power?

How does power operate to survive?

What are the conditions under which power sickens and dies?

Questions like these underlie the materials in our units of instruction. Through our materials children will come up against and need to think hard about the implications of power in man's life as a political being. They will be drawn into considering structures of power and styles of authority, as these affect them and have affected others. They will need to look at the idea of role as distinct from person, and at differential roles as bearers of authority. They will have to ask themselves how power is legitimized, how it depends on custom, how it operates through institutions. They will need to investigate and consider the sanctions in which authority is clothed, from those of an economic nature to the extremes of violence and force. They will find themselves studying the function of attitudes and values in relation to power and asking how these things are formed and changed. They can look at the dilemmas of power that center around the dispersion or centralization of authority, perhaps considering the proposition that dispersion of power makes competition among centers of power inevitable. They will have to examine the troublesome problem of succession to authority, and will need to look at instances of the overthrow and reconstitution of authority. Their studies should lead them to test out the part that dissent and criticism may play within differing systems of power and how the processes of consultation and consent may work or fail in the transactions of political life.

Not least, materials which explore the concept of power should bring students to confront and examine the political order within which they live.

The second idea which informs the intellectual structure of our three-year junior high school sequence is that of *political culture*. Introduced by Gabriel Almond in a provocative article in 1956,[30] the concept of political culture recently has been applied in one of the largest cross-national surveys ever attempted in the field of political science.[31] The idea of power is synthetic and endowed with a remarkable productivity which makes it useful for political and social studies. So, too, is the idea of political culture.

The concept of power, as we have seen, is principally concerned with *relationships*, and for our purposes particularly those

relationships found in aspects of political life. Like all really productive social concepts, power is apt to trouble us both because it is at once simplistic and, when we seek to apply it, laden with complexity. The same might be said for the concept of political culture.

Political culture is a dimension of general culture. In simplest terms, it is the way people feel, think, and act about things political.

In the language of political science, the notion of political culture is principally concerned with patterns of psychological orientation to political action. The political culture of a country is found in the *characteristic distribution of patterns of orientation towards political objects* among the people of the country. "Objects" in this usage refers basically to the political system: roles (formal offices, informal offices, electorates, *etc.*) within it; legislative and administrative bodies; particular political actors, such as monarchs, legislators, executives; decisions, policies, or enforcements of a political or governmental nature; and the like.

When we talk here about *power* in political society we mean formal and informal systems of power relationships, including official government. When we talk about *political culture* we mean the patterns of attitude, thought, and behavior people exhibit with reference to systems of power relationships, including official government.

At least three types of political culture may be identified.[32] In over-simplified form, these are:

1. *Parochial political culture.* A political culture may be parochial in that it is amorphous, and that people within it have little sense of there being a political system. For example, the political culture of a tribal society might be considered parochial. In it there are no specialized political roles. The headman, chief, or shaman occupy diffuse religious-economic-political roles. Members of such a society do not separate their *political* orientations to these roles from their religious and social orientations. Nor do they see themselves as active participants in a political system.

2. *Subject political culture.* In this type of political culture people are conscious of themselves as subjects of a political system, subject to a system of power in which they have little if any active participation. The subject is aware of governmental authority and specialized political roles within government. He may like the political system and even be proudly patriotic in

his feelings and actions towards it. He may, on the other hand, dislike it and simply endure it. He may think of the political system as legitimate or not. But essentially his stance is that of being affected by the power system, of being passively related and "subject" to it.

3. *The Participant Political Culture.* In a participant political culture people tend to be aware of the political system, have explicit attitudes and thoughts about it, and have an activist view of themselves in relation to it. They may have favorable or unfavorable orientations to the system of power relationships. They may vary through time in their activism, and individuals may vary in the degree, direction, and quality of their participation. But the culture is one in which people characteristically feel, think, and act as though political processes exist to be shared in.

Such an oversimplification of the typology of political cultures may leave any number of misconceptions in its trail. Let me specify a few cautions – things *not* to conclude from this typing of political cultures:

1. One kind of political culture does not simply replace another when historical change occurs. Instead, when a political culture changes over time it is likely to retain features of its earlier character. But it is not likely to leave these "earlier" features themselves wholly unchanged.

2. This three-fold typology (parochial, subject, participant) does not imply that each political culture is pure to its particular type or homogeneous. A characteristically participant "civic" culture, like that in the United States, will at the same time include both "subject" and "parochial" elements in it. The typology refers only to the predominant character of a given political culture.

3. The typology should not suggest that political cultures can in fact be described in static terms, as though they were immune from development or decay.

Change in political cultures and political systems does, of course, occur. Why change takes place, how it does, and with what consequences, are questions at the frontier of social science and historical study. Such questions are at the heart of our junior high school social studies curriculum, too.

Let me suggest one of the ways that relating the concepts of power (as political system) and political culture may help in de-

veloping materials for the study of such questions. In our unit materials, as will be seen in their description, the underlying conceptual structure frequently invites a relating of data about power and data about political culture. A political culture may or may not be congruent with a specific political system of power. For example, a participant political culture is more likely to be congruent with a democratic political system than with a centralized authoritarian political system. Congruence, in the sense used here, means that the way people feel, think, and act (their political culture) is accurate and favorable with regard to the realities of the political system. Where congruence of this kind does not exist, one can ask what bearing this condition may have on change, or the prospect of change. If a more characteristically participant political culture is emerging in a society whose political power system is centralized and authoritarian, what kinds of change are likely to occur, and why? In several instances, our unit materials arise out of periods of man's experience when political culture was sharply out of phase with the political power system. Students have opportunities to study why and how political culture changes, how political systems operate, how political cultures and political systems interact, and what happens as they do.

The concept of political culture – like that of power – has a unique capacity for generating questions and hypotheses for inquiry, and for serving as an analytical tool. To the degree that our curriculum materials are informed by the concept of political culture, they should raise questions like these, *without the encumbrance of social science jargon:*

> Why (e.g., in terms of place, time, economic development, etc.) are there different kinds of political culture?
>
> How does the general culture or total way of life of a people affect the special patterns of behavior we call political culture? In turn, how does political culture affect the general culture?
>
> What relationships are there – and why – between political culture and technology?
>
> What part does language (including all relevant forms of symbolic communication) play in political culture?
>
> How does this vary in place and time, and why?

How do children learn a political culture?

What kind of political culture do we Americans live in, how did we come to it, and what it may be in the future?

The elementary curriculum sequence discussed by Bruner in *Man: A Course of Study* (Occasional Paper No. 3) takes children into the study of technology, language, social organization, child rearing, and cosmology as ways men have of becoming and being human. Among other circumstances of the human condition, man is indeed a political animal, and the political dimension of his humanness can be gotten at by concepts and questions that have a good deal in common with what Bruner proposes for the elementary curriculum. Certainly political culture and social organization are directly related to each other. Nothing is closer to the heart of the political process in which power and political culture play a part than symbolic communication. The inter-relationships between political culture and level of technology could hardly be closer. And the learning of a political culture is a significant, special instance of the powerful part that child rearing and education play in shaping the humanity of man.

Whatever the eventual outcome in actual curriculum materials, we have set up the general framework for a three year junior high school sequence in the social studies around two theoretical concepts which are in current use by many scholars in history and the social sciences. The concepts of power and political culture, as we have seen, are in some measure special to the field of political science but in many ways available to and used by other fields. These concepts and subsidiary notions lend a degree of intellectual structure to our version of a junior high school social studies curriculum and at the same time allow for consideration of value questions which are implicit in the concepts themselves. I have been moved to trust in this direction in part by Robert G. Hanvey, who observed several years ago that:

> Backwardness of the social studies . . . lies in *failure to employ modern conceptual and theoretical tools of the social sciences*. . . . The social studies (and I have been talking mostly of the history curriculum that, de facto, *is* the social studies) lags in its intellectual technology not only behind social scientists but even behind educated laymen. Words like "culture" and "values" and "personality" are in the public domain. But they are not in the

public schools. And although, as with DNA, RNA, and protein, *culture, personality,* and *role* may serve as "a significant sequence," the latter set is simply invisible to the high school history student. Being invisible, it is unavailable as an explanatory tool to be applied to the otherwise inexplicable. A genuine renaissance will occur in the social studies when modern conceptualizations come into use . . . an enriched perception is inherent in the use of new concepts and if they are wisely chosen, new vistas will open up. Explanation of individual and group behavior will no longer be superficial and final, but rich, open, and growing – something not to be retained but to be attempted. Students and teachers alike can be exhilarated by the mastery not of facts, but of conceptual tools that bring new meaning to fact.[33]

General Nature of the Framework

We see the ideas I have sketched here as providing some of the intellectual structure and conceptual tools for our three-year junior high school sequence in the social studies. To clarify what this means in fact, several things need to be said about the general framework of the sequence.

One is that *Man As A Political Being* is *not* a set of courses designed for graduate study. While I have used abstractions and technical terms in suggesting the conceptual structure we have in mind, the reader should not assume that our actual course materials are preoccupied with abstractions and technical terms. Our materials are concerned with data through which children may work, gaining experience in concept development in their own terms but not swamped by technical jargon.

A second thing to make clear is that the framework of our three-year junior high school sequence is in fact deliberately flexible and open. *The models of content and instruction we are developing are only a few among many alternatives open to teachers and other curriculum-builders.* To us, it is not the specific content that is precious and special. Instead, the important things are the ideas, skills, and values that children learn; these can be learned through many kinds of content. The general framework we set up could assimilate to it many other models of content and instruction. Indeed, we hope that this will occur.

A third thing to make clear is that any one of these courses, and units within them, are capable of being taught separately. Our framework may look at first glance as though it were intended to be rigid and tightly articulated. It is not. We have felt an obligation to provide a generally coherent sequence, but we have felt an equal obligation to construct our courses and units so that others could use them in ways different from our own sense of order. Thus, the second course of our three-year sequence, *From Subject to Citizen*, can very well be taught quite separately from the courses which precede and follow it. Similarly, specific units within *From Subject to Citizen* can be, and have been, taught independently of other units in the course.

Fourth, each course involves some straightforward introduction to conceptual tools as such. This is not in conflict with what I have said about our avoidance of abstractions and technical jargon. We think that some conceptual tools need to be introduced to and used by the children with whom we are working. We do not intend to present theoretical courses about power, role, status, culture, etc. But we believe that at appropriate points in each course and at appropriate levels of sophistication, children can be given a direct introduction to the meaning and utility of some of these concepts. We also believe that, in addition to a large amount of indirect learning of methodology of inquiry which is built into our materials, our courses must include some simple but straightforward exposure to methods of historiography, rules of evidence, analytical discussion, map reading, and the like.

Fifth, in our eyes and in humble fact, *the whole three-year sequence is provisional*. A good part of it is still in the planning and drafting stage. On the other hand, a number of parts have been fully constructed – sometimes in several versions – and responsibly tested in small and large groups. One whole course is moving toward completion, with large scale production and trial of parts of it fully scheduled.

By way of summary to this point, the general nature of the framework has a central organizing theme, *Man As A Political Being*, for three courses roughly parallel to grades seven, eight, and nine. The theme reflects the concepts I have outlined and provides a focusing principle – essentially on political ideas, actions, and values – for the selection and treatment of curriculum materials in all three courses. The focus provided by this principle, as we will see, is not narrow; with it we can scan a wide

range, since political man is many things. The theme and its subordinate curriculum components are chosen because of what we know of the political socialization process in individual development. From a free society's point of view, it is important for the child in early adolescence to have as much opportunity as possible to develop his ability to think about public affairs and politics and to examine meaning and value in history and government. We chose this focus, too, because it appears – on the basis of observation and experiment – to excite the interest and engage the energies of children. It does this if the materials are honest, and the opportunities for handling them demonstrate what Bruner calls *courtesy* in our approach to children: that we view children as capable of handling honest materials and wrestling responsibly with real questions and ideas.

The focusing principle provides a useful basis for discriminating within the infinite range of historical and social science material from which curriculum-builders must choose. It gives us a rationale for the courses of the sequence, a major criterion for the selection of matters for study in depth within courses, and an alternative to relying upon chronological or topical history as a principal vehicle.

In the materials I will describe, the reader will find considerable reference to the studies-in-depth, or "units of instruction" with which we are concerned. These units are our main building blocks. Each has several parts; each has several versions of difficulty; each could occupy six or so weeks of classroom time; and yet each, we hope, is flexible, that is, capable of being taught separately from the course context we suggest and capable of being abridged or changed around by individual teachers and students. Each offers many options.

With this said, let us move to a brief description of the first course in our sequence and an examination of prototype unit materials from it. Subsequent sections will discuss the other two courses and some of their features.

Inventing the Western World

In making an initial experimental design for a first course in the junior high school sequence – approximately at the seventh grade level – we have chosen as our field of action a single major theatre of man's experience over a very long span of historical

time. The theatre is the Western World. The time span is from something like the beginning of the fifth century B.C. – when Pindar wrote of Athens having "built the bright foundation of liberty" – until 1600 A.D.

Our simplifications may make strong scholars weep, or smile, at our innocence. Let us look at our assumptions in any case. One is that, looking back from here, we can regard "the Western World" in its complex totality as a singular "invention" of enormous consequence for all of humanity. This is not a kind of magnified ethnocentrism. It is simply a recognition that an exceedingly powerful – even if conflict-ridden – civilization stemmed out of the Eastern Mediterranean and ancient Near East. Over time, it absorbed innumerable significant contributions from the East and from the tribal peoples of Europe, and became the most dynamic system in the world. By 1600, the West was a force in Asia, the Americas, and Africa; as Kenneth Boulding puts it, by then the West had taken command of world history.

We assume that the West, regardless of the ideological guise in which it may present itself, reveals two extraordinary general characteristics. These persist strongly even where, as in modern China, deep westernization exists while the "official" West is rejected. These two characteristics are that the West is profoundly revolutionary and that it is centrifugal in its effect. It is as though the West were a Typhoid Mary who was not really immune from the fever herself. Everywhere the West has laid its hand consciously or unconsciously the contagion of change has been contracted, and the world there is never again the same. The West has assimilated and generated – at first slowly and then with incessant acceleration – the elements of a total system of revolutionary influence which changes the world through science and technology, ideology and religion, economic operations and many other means. The system penetrates, destroys, rebuilds, and changes. How and why it has done so are matters well worth study. For our purposes, it is important to recognize that the central political effect of the West in modern times has been to set the stage for demands by men for a downward, wider sharing of the values (e.g., in Lasswell's terms: power, wealth, deference, well-being, education, rectitude, affection, and skill) which civilization makes available.

As the reader will see, the course described in the next section (*From Subject to Citizen*) leads children to study a specific instance of the revolutionary and centrifugal tendencies of the

West, involving successful demands for a sharing of values. *Inventing the Western World* introduces children to thinking about the West, and aims to prepare them for the specific study of power and political culture with which *Subject to Citizen* is concerned. *Inventing the Western World,* as we presently conceive it, presents a variety of case studies related to power and political culture which takes children into an initial examination of man as a political animal. In addition, the course opens up questions about the general cultural ecology within which western man is a political actor.

For example, one unit of instruction is projected to raise questions about political socialization by comparing cultural differences between child-rearing in Periclean Athens and child-rearing in classical Sparta. Another, the prototype unit of this course, deals with the sickening of power, the struggle for new power, and the transformation of a political culture. It does so by focusing on the death of the Roman Republic in the first century B.C. The interrelationships of technological change and other conditions of man's existence, including that of master and man, will be examined in another study which I like to call the Horse Collar Unit! While we may deal with other significant technological changes such as the development of the water mill and the windmill in later Roman to early medieval times, the introduction of paper making techniques from Islam to Europe in the early twelfth century, or the development of the sternpost rudder and the three-masted sailing rig in the late middle ages, the horse collar has special attractions.

Almost incredibly, the collar harness for horses was not used by Romans. Instead, they harnessed horses with a neck rope in approximately the form of a noose. Horses pulled their draft under more than a little handicap: the harder they pulled the nearer they came to choking. Horses, who are notoriously intelligent, declined to pull with their full strength.

Perhaps through interaction with the East, the horse collar appeared in Europe in the ninth century; by the twelfth century the padded collar had reached full development. This seemingly simple technological device made it possible for a horse to pull by drawing against his shoulders and chest, to exert much greater strength, and to avoid choking. A happy arrangement all around, the net result was greatly increased efficiency in the use of animal power. Some have argued that the introduction of the horse collar eventually led to the extinction of slavery, at least in its

worst forms. The horse with a collar constituted an efficient source of animal power with which the use of slaves could not compete. In any case, use of the horse collar helped to improve agriculture in Europe during the ninth through the eleventh centuries. What a horse so harnessed could plow during a day helped give a new pattern to the yield that could be expected from agriculture. Improved agriculture resulting from this device and other changes produced an economic base from which new ventures in architecture and art, in trade and travel, in war and missionary work could occur. At the same time, rigid political and social arrangements of the feudal order tended to block further technological advance in agriculture in the medieval period. Not until that order broke up in the age of renaissance, reformation, and discovery, did further innovation in agricultural technology come. In all of this, including the interactions among the elements I have noted, there is much material for study relevant to our purpose.

At this stage of the design of *Inventing the Western World*, a number of possibilities for model units are in our minds. Perhaps it will be useful to mention at least two more of these. One has to do with the study of the function of symbols in political culture and in the manipulation of power. Instances of this function in the long period under consideration are virtually infinite in number. A unit, for example, may be built from records of the First Crusade. For the two centuries of the crusades, the Cross itself served as a politico-military emblem as well as a religious symbol. It represented the revolutionary and centrifugal impulses of the West. From the standpoint of political studies, the whole of the First Crusade offers rich fare, with many side opportunities to investigate the development of the technology of war, the importance of trading potential, and things that the West learned from the East.

Rather beautifully from our point of need, the First Crusade falls into two parts. The first is what might be considered the crusade of the people, preached in 1096 with fiery zeal by wandering preachers like Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless. Thousands of the poor in Europe were persuaded by such preaching to undertake what proved for them to be the tragically hopeless venture of freeing the Holyland from Islam. Only two divisions of *paupere*s out of five reached Constantinople from as far away as France. By the end of October, 1096, these survivors had crossed the Bosporus only to be annihilated by the Seljuk

Turks. All that was left of the people's crusade by the spring of 1097 was a heap of whitening bones. The other part of the First Crusade might be called the crusade of the princes. Here the story is altogether different, focusing around three glittering French princes, Bohemund, Baldwin, and Raymund. With them, the venture had much of the political as well as the military about it. The competing political motives of these three princes, the ways in which they maneuvered against each other, the instruments of power they used, all combine to make the crusade of the princes a fruitful object of study. An incident at the siege at Antioch, involving the power of a symbol, may suggest this.

The crusaders besieged Antioch from October 21, 1097 to June 3, 1098. As soon as the besieging crusaders took Antioch they found themselves in turn besieged by a relief army of Turks. For twenty-five days, the exhausted crusaders were under continually mounting pressure and attack. Under this strain, reports of religious visions and phenomena began to circulate among the besieged crusaders. Raymund was particularly religious, and it was in his force of Provençals that "spiritualistic" occurrences appeared. These phenomena came to a climax with the supposed discovery of the Holy Lance, which had pierced the side of Jesus on the Cross. Word of this supposed discovery ran through the whole army like fire. Under the stimulus of this news, excitement came to a high pitch, morale rose, and the crusaders were able to meet and defeat the besiegers on an open field before Antioch. The discovery of the lance, and the immediate victory over the besiegers which it led to, put Raymund in a position of new importance and he struggled with Bohemund for possession of Antioch. The lance which had served to unite Provençal and Norman crusaders suddenly became a symbol of their disunity and struggle for power. The whole vision of the lance was brought into question by the Normans, and Peter Bartholomew, to whom the vision had first appeared, was subjected to ordeal by fire. Church officials before long discounted the authenticity of the vision of the lance, but for a short period it had functioned as a powerful unifying and dividing symbol, linked tightly to achieving social cohesion against a common enemy and then caught up in Raymund's competition for power and political advantage. In both the crusade of the people and the crusade of the princes opportunities for comparison and contrast of power relationships and political culture abound.

The design of *Inventing the Western World* and of the units

which I have touched upon here is still most tentative. As we proceed with the junior high school project, it is certain that other directions and possibilities will be explored for this course.

Even so, we have a prototype unit for this course in an advanced stage of development. This is a unit on The Death of the Roman Republic. A brief review of the status of this unit may illuminate how we are going about the preparation of model materials for *Inventing the Western World*.

The Roman Republic Unit has gone through some significant sea-changes as it has been worked on during the past two years. It may well go through some more before it is widely used.

In the beginning, during the summer of 1963, it was conceived as a relatively simple exercise, which we called the Caesar Unit for convenience. Its nominal subject was a dramatic political event of the classical world: the desperate gamble which Julius Caesar made at the beginning of 49 B.C. for supreme control of the Roman state. In January of that year, starting with only one legion, Caesar made a fateful decision to leave his jurisdiction in Cisalpine Gaul and move swiftly down into Italy to cut off his rival, Pompey, and assume complete power in the Roman Republic. The government of the Republic was corrupt and chaotic. The practical question was whether the future of the Roman state would lie in the hands of Caesar or Pompey. Both men decided the question in their own favor, but Caesar made his decision stick. In these narrow terms, the first form of the unit focused on the first three months of 49 B.C., and on Caesar's audacity as a political and military actor.

The event was described – at some distance – in a number of ancient sources: Plutarch, Suetonius, Lucan, Appian, and Dio. We drew selections carefully from some of these sources for use as data in the unit. Infinitely more important, the event was described *at the time* from two completely divergent political points of view by two of the principals in the great struggle over the Roman state: Caesar himself, and Cicero, Pompey's advocate – scholar, *litterateur*, and sensitive, indecisive man of peace. Caesar's *Civil War* and Cicero's *Letters* give contrasting reports of the same series of events, seen from quite different perspectives. We drew parallel brief selections from Caesar and Cicero as the heart of the unit's data and, on field testing, found them manageable by seventh grade students who were reading at their normal grade level.

In addition to these documentary data, the early version

included other simple tools. One was a modern auto map of Italy (*Esso Italia*); with this, each student could easily trace Caesar's swift march down the eastern coast of Italy to Brindisi and then to Rome. Another kind of simple but helpful aid was afforded by classroom sets of United States Army topographic maps of Italy. These are relatively small, very light, sectional relief maps pressed out of plastic material. An important set of materials for the unit in its earlier form was a series of color slides made from pictures taken for us by a *Life Magazine* photographer. These were *not* employed simply for pictorial ornamentation, but as part of the problem-solving exercises in which the unit engaged students. For example, at the beginning of the unit, slides, documents, and maps were used to examine Caesar's decision to break out of his jurisdiction in Ravenna, just across the border from Italy proper, cross the Rubicon, and enter Rimini. In addition to the study of his main decision to move at all, the records gave children a chance to try out their minds on a number of smaller, essentially historiographic puzzles.

Take the crossing of the Rubicon, for instance. Plutarch – who certainly wasn't there – tells us Caesar crossed the stream which runs between Ravenna and Rimini and said "the die is cast." Lucan – who wasn't there – makes a big thing of the crossing in his *Pharsalia*, describing in detail how Caesar stood his cavalry across the stream "to break the current's force" so foot soldiers could get over, and quoting exactly what he thought Caesar said once across. But Caesar's own description of his move from Ravenna into Rimini is most matter-of-fact and makes no mention of the Rubicon, crossing it, or saying anything quotable for the occasion. And Cicero's correspondence, immediately after learning of Caesar's move, mentions nothing about the Rubicon. Children didn't get much help on the Rubicon matter from the Esso map either; on it, the Rubicon carries no name at all. As students dug into reference works and more detailed maps, they learned that the river now called the "Rubicon" is not necessarily the Rubicon that Caesar crossed. It was Mussolini who arbitrarily decided on the present Rubicon, sometime after having crossed his own. Our hunch is that he was right, but no one is sure.

In all of this little study of an episode which has long been one of our symbolic clichés, the "crossing of the Rubicon" turns out to be a somewhat more complex puzzle than one might have thought. Texts of contemporaries differ radically from those

of commentators like Plutarch, who was born a century after the event. How much can we be sure of? How? Students in effect were faced with the historian's own problem and even with some of the data he would be likely to analyze.

The first, or "Caesar," version gave seventh grade students a microcosmic politico-historical episode to work on, principally through textual analysis of some carefully selected bits of material from Caesar, Cicero, and later Latin writers. This version, with no adult-written explanatory narrative, was tried in over thirty classrooms in many parts of the United States. Wherever it was tried, it engaged children, that is certain. But, in handling these written documents, it often seemed that children failed to detect ambiguity where it existed, that they too easily fell into over-interpretation from very limited evidence, that they frequently misinterpreted, and that often what was inherently a conflict of evidence became a conflict of students. One linguistic scholar observing a class remarked that:

> The students' motivation to (interact with each other) distracted them from the true conflict of evidence. The children made extensive use of the materials in the "debate," but only in a most superficial way to provision themselves with ammunition.[34]

This kind of outcome was thought to have two principal causes. One cause was considered by McNeill to be a lack of linguistic skills which deflected children from finding written material as easy to organize as spoken material. McNeil commented that:

> What makes the difference, I think, is intonation. When I read a complex passage of prose aloud, I tend to distribute stress and pitch so as to rank order the logical propositions contained in the passage. In case I do not understand the passage, I try various combinations of pitch stress. I think this is done by all adults as a matter of course. The children of the Caesar class, in contrast, usually read prose with completely non-English patterns of intonation. However, the children apparently can be helped by intonation, which implies that their difficulty with written materials lies in seeing them as something outside normal (spoken) language. I suspect there is a reason for this. It is that throughout elementary education, children are carefully protected from prose in which connotation plays an important role. Thus, they never see the possi-

> bility of using the literal content of written sentences as premises on which to base conclusions, nor have they had practice organizing materials for the purpose of drawing conclusions. I imagine the effect of such training is to create a curious "literary" form for the children in which written language is conceived to be largely separate from spoken language. In their spoken language, however, intonation is abundantly used, and I suppose it serves an organizational function. The problem then is to overcome the children's "literary" style by restoring intonation to their interpretation of written material.[35]

In testing children, McNeil found that their organized thinking about the Caesar material could be improved by their experimenting with expressive oral reading of quotations. Bare documents alone, even if technically "readable," were not enough for the thinking that the materials were intended to instigate. Without linguistic skills comparable to those they possess in handling spoken language, children could not fully exploit and become committed to the problems inherent in the written Caesar material. The signs pointed towards a need to teach in ways that would increase the linguistic capability of children to interact with problem-filled written materials.

A second cause which handicapped children in handling the early version of Caesar materials was that the episode of 49 B.C. stood alone, out of any historical context. The episode was in a kind of intellectual limbo which left children unexposed to the larger setting within which it occurred. Without finding out about the nature of the Republic or examining the conflicts and changes through which it was going, children were not likely to see sense, or see it accurately, in the ambiguities and confrontations of early 49 B.C. Caesar's Rubicon and his march were not an adequate microcosm of larger questions and forces related to power and political culture in the Roman Republic. We concluded that the episode could not stand alone, even with such pedagogical improvements as McNeill suggested. We decided that it should become an exercise within a larger unit on The Death of the Roman Republic.

The new version of the Roman unit is in the process of being constructed and tried in classrooms. The struggle for rationale, design, and really teachable components of a six or seven week unit is in full swing. By the summer of 1966, I believe we will have a Roman unit of much more relevance to children and to

the ideas of our whole sequence than we have had up till now.

The rationale of the new version may be stated in various ways. At its simplest level, what the unit is "about" may be the difference between "ought" and "is," between the ideal and the real in politics. Earlier, I mentioned that we distrust a "copy-book civics" approach to school study of politics and governance. An aridly ideal picture of the political process given to young people can be a preface to cynicism when they later discover that political reality is all too human. A study of the ideal and the real in Rome at the end of the Republic may provide an antidote to cynicism by showing the constitutional ideal at its most elegant and the *Realpolitik* at its most pragmatic, both being meaningful parts of the same dynamic society. The closer one gets to Roman politics the harder it is to simplify matters in line with a good-guys vs. bad-guys paradigm.

Again, what the unit is "about" may be the idea that a system of power can sicken and die, that a Republic can have a death, that a new system of power may arise. The late period of the Roman Republic is a case study of the disintegration of a system and its transformation through turmoil into something quite different. How and why these things happened are not matters of anything like complete agreement among present-day ancient historians. But as George Homans once said when we were talking about this, the fact that complete agreement does not exist among scholars is no reason not to raise the questions for children. The very fact that the questions persist makes the case study all the more important, even if more difficult to bring off.

In more abstract terms, the new Roman unit is "about" power and political culture. Its rationale, not presented didactically but immanent in the material, might be something like this:

> If a system of power which exists in theory is not effective or real, men will turn to whatever resources they have to work out a new system of real power.
>
> If the resources they have do not include an alternative and developed political culture, they will use power in its most direct forms as they try to invent and install a new system.
>
> As men do this, it is likely that a situation of disorganization will arise in which (a) former but now dysfunctional roles and institutions are kept in name only, (b) political actors engage more and more openly

> in a struggle where everyone knows the devil will take the hindmost, and (c) a new system of power emerges which reflects a developing new political culture and makes manageable or governable the conditions under which men live.

The new version of the Roman unit, on which much groundwork was done during the summer of 1964, will have five parts.

Part I, which will serve as an introduction, is still unsettled. Hopefully, it will: (a) introduce children to general features of Rome and Roman history; (b) impart to the study of Rome a sense of relevance without undue consciousness of remoteness or unfamiliarity; (c) acquaint students with the governmental and political structure of Rome, the constitution and principal magistracies; (d) arouse student interest; and (e) suggest some of the main themes that are to be pursued in the unit. Just how it will be paragon enough to do all of these things in a short period is not yet clear. Perhaps this is why we have investigated twelve different ways of opening the unit but so far settled on none. It seems better to defer the shaping of the introduction until the basic materials of the rest of the unit have been fully developed. But the chances are that Part I will include material on the ideal view of the Roman Republic, perhaps through selections from Polybius on the Roman Constitution at its prime. Tentative selections have been made and a number of inductive exercises have been designed in preliminary form. In these, children encounter problems of organizing the Polybius data, extrapolating a model constitution from it, and testing its operation as a simulated government under various kinds of stress. In addition we have some first approximations of exercises in Roman geography and biography.

Part II plunges students into the political reality of the Republic in Cicero's time. This section takes up real campaigning for public office, the conduct of elections, and the practice of bringing one's political enemies to trial. Marcus Tullius Cicero is followed, in original sources, through a campaign for the consulship and into the aftermath of a campaign in a bribery trial. Among other things, this section includes Quintus Cicero's advice to his brother on how to campaign, much of which has a startling familiarity, as these brief extracts may suggest:

> . . . Since men are persuaded to show good will and zeal during a campaign by three principal considera-

> tions – kindness received, hope of more, and personal affection – we must observe how to take advantage of these. Men are convinced by very small favors that they have sufficient reason to give support at the polls . . .
>
> . . . See that you have the votes of all the voting classes sewed up through the quantity and diversity of your friends. Take into account the whole city, all private groups, country districts, and neighborhoods. If you can win over the leading men in these areas to your friendship, you will easily gain the crowd through them. After that, see that you imprint on your mind the whole of Italy, divided and catalogued by electoral districts, so that you let no municipality, colony, or small town – in short, no place at all in Italy – get by in which you don't have sufficient support.
>
> . . . Show that you (know men's names), and practice so that you get better at it from day to day. Nothing is so popular or pleasing . . .
>
> . . . You must pretend to practice flattery as though it came naturally. Flattery . . . is indispensable while electioneering.
>
> . . . See that there is ready access to you night and day. Always make it clear that you will be doing eagerly and cheerfully whatever you are going to do . . .
>
> . . . Last, you must take care that your whole campaign is brilliant and splendid, well-suited to the popular taste . . . Also, if possible, see that some new scandal is started against your opponents for crime or immorality or corruption – whatever their characters suggest.

Through investigating a real campaign, through a game simulating an election, and through role-playing a real trial for bribery children come up against some of the reality of the Republic and such questions as these:

> What do we mean by politics?
>
> When a man is eager to win an election, how can

he maintain his principles and still gain votes?

How can a government in which officials are elected prevent candidates from using dishonest tactics or actual bribery to win office?

What similarities and differences do you see between campaigns, elections, and trials in the Roman Republic and the U.S. today?

In Part III, the new version of the Roman unit moves from a study of elections, corruption, and bribery to a study of violence. Violence in Roman political life increased significantly during the late Republic. Through the materials of Part III the dichotomy between the *violent* solution and the orderly *legal* solution of problems of state emerges clearly. These materials include selections dealing with the Catiline Conspiracy, the Cato-Caesar debate over the fate of the conspirators, the exile of Cicero, and the *Pro Sestio*. In the latter, Cicero's defense of Sestius depicts violence, disorder, and the breakdown of the kind of systematic government which sounded so nice in Polybius' descriptions of Rome. Student exercises with these materials involve questions about:

The antithesis between violence and law as methods for settling disputes.

The tendency of violence, once used, to breed more violence.

The consequences of allowing or requiring private citizens to take the law into their own hands.

The responsibilities of those who are in government.

How and why political conditions in the later period of the Roman Republic became so unstable.

Part IV of the new Roman unit deals with the Civil War and grows out of what I earlier described as the "Caesar Unit." The extraordinary instability studied in the preceding section is followed by the study of the bids of Pompey and Caesar for supreme control. The materials are those of Caesar and Cicero described earlier, plus some additions which give children an opportunity to examine the problems of the Civil War as a whole.

Part V, which remains still very tentative, will use materials from Caesar's dictatorship. The governmental reforms instituted

during the dictatorship, Caesar's use of power, reactions of men like Cicero and others, and evidence of the increasing tension of events which culminate in assassination will be dealt with. Students will come to the end of the unit facing questions about government, politics, and change that the assassination and all that proceeded it in earlier parts of the unit have raised.

Thus, in too skimpy fashion, I have tried to show the history and present status of the prototype unit on Rome in the first year sequence on *Inventing the Western World*. In its progress, the Rome unit has benefited from the active collaboration of teachers, children, an American Latinist, a British Latinist and poet-novelist, a constitutional lawyer, an ancient historian, an undergraduate historian and others.

From Subject to Citizen

The pivotal course in the three year sequence has as its theme, *From Subject to Citizen*, and is intended for use in the eighth grade or thereabouts. Given the political science concepts which underlie our junior high school sequence, it is natural that *From Subject to Citizen* should be heavily concerned with political culture and changing relationships of power.

The course draws its material from seventeenth and eighteenth century British and American experience. Its limits in historical time are the reign of Elizabeth I on one hand and the acession of Jefferson to the American presidency on the other – roughly from 1588 to 1801. But as the reader will see, the course is far from a narrative account of these two centuries in England and America. Instead, it is a series of six studies in depth or units dealing with major developments and critical episodes in the emergence of a changed political culture in the two countries.

Both in England and America, political culture changed significantly during this period, moving differentially from a predominantly subject culture towards a participant culture. Such movement occured in England in the turmoil of the seventeenth century and was consolidated and stabilized in the period of the Glorious Revolution. During the eighteenth century, underlying social and economic forces in England to some degree continued the movement. But it took the upheaval of later in-

dustrialization to accelerate change and cause further significant alteration of the overt political system of England in the nineteenth century. In America, the movement from a mainly subject culture to one mainly participant in nature was more rapid, with earlier significant alteration of the political system to make it congruent with cultural change. The reasons for a differential momentum of change in political culture in America were many. The English heritage which colonists brought with them itself contained the seeds of change. Likewise, seventeenth century change in the English political culture and political system had important consequences in America. Most important of all, the drastically different conditions which colonists encountered in the new world, and the life they developed in response to these conditions, combined to change their political culture more deeply and rapidly than even they at first recognized. Here I should emphasize that *From Subject to Citizen* as a theme does *not* mean that our course teaches that Englishmen, alas, were and are something inferior called "subjects," and that we Americans in contrast have happily achieved the more noble status of "citizens." *Both* countries, in different ways and for different reasons were moving towards a more participant political culture.

The six units of *From Subject to Citizen* are organized and related to each other in ways which make it possible for students to analyze and generalize about change in political culture, to hypothesize about causes, and to examine values. None of this turns out to be very simple. But with conceptual tools at hand, and with abundant opportunity to use hunch and reason in the pursuit of inquiry, students seem to thrive on what really is a complex business.

Perhaps this is because the traditional eighth grade course in American history is what it is, and children find that materials which are more courteous in Bruner's sense are more worthy of response. The traditional eighth grade American history course depends heavily on a single hard-cover text book, the same for all students. The book – and, from whatever publisher, the book will be really very much the same – is a chronological account with a degree of topical organization. It contains a greatly condensed, predigested summary of "everything important" in all of American historny. This is as preposterous to attempt as it is appalling to see executed. In the process, the text book becomes a fearful thing. It may contain stretches of good narration, but it is principally a series of lifeless abridgements. It

has to be so, because American schools and book manufacturers are presently locked into a customary system which to them seems to require that all of American history be "covered" in each of three grades, usually the fifth, eighth, and eleventh grades.

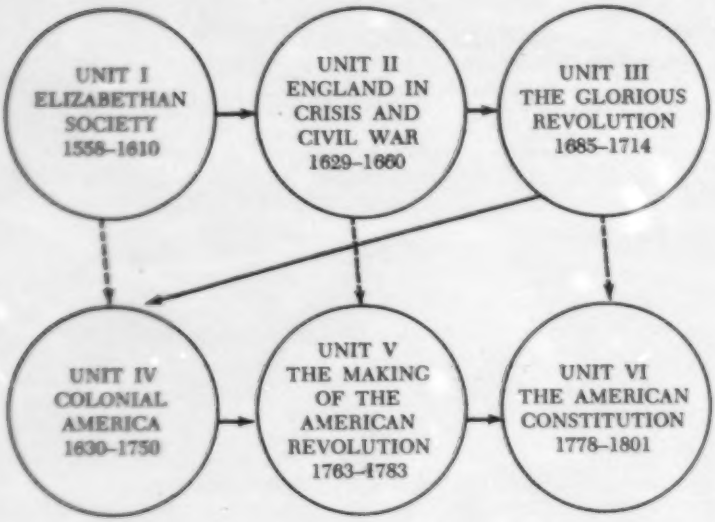
"Coverage" is the *bête noir* of the harried teacher who feels that somehow she must get the children through the whole book. To the degree she doesn't, she feels that her students have not "done" American history. There seems to be only one way to try to do a job so conceived: that is to assign compulsory chunks of the text to be read, to have recitation or discussion on what is read, and then to quiz to determine short-term recall of what is read. As the school year proceeds, the teacher acquires a desperate sense that even this simple method of forced ingestion and induced regurgitation is not going to give enough time for the Leif Erikson to Lyndon B. Johnson "coverage" she feels she must accomplish. And so it goes traditionally, with the mechanical rabbit of "coverage" always beating the greyhounds, no matter how fast they run. Teachers are frustrated by the system, and children become bored with the whole sorry business. By "covering" Columbus in the fifth, eighth, and eleventh grades they are apt to feel that they have had it – without ever genuinely getting at anything crucially important or exciting.

I have exaggerated, but not much, to underline the difference between our approach and the traditional one. *From Subject to Citizen* avoids wholesale coverage and the abridgements it necessitates. Deliberately, we have chosen two critical centuries for study. And within this period we eschew linear, one-damn-thing-after-another history, in favor of a series of six studies in depth. These have a general connection because of the logic of the conception of political culture-change. We will connect them further by selected brief narrative and background materials, and some teachers may wish to use the units in conjunction with selected readings from a text book. While we have not gotten into the matter, it might make eminent sense for an initial study of pre-1600 America and its relation with Europe to be the focus of an elementary course. Similarly, we hope that a senior high school course might concentrate on features of American historical development in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. But we are sticking to two hundred years in which some basic American political attitudes, behavior, and institutions took form. Our units concentrate on giving students as nearly

authentic material as we can manage, giving it to them in relatively unstructured form, and challenging them to discover whatever structure it may have. We ask students to perform as historians and social scientists, not as stimulus-response mechanisms.

The organization of units in *From Subject to Citizen* is reflected in the following diagram. Units, if taught in full, may vary from four to eight weeks in length, but usually should take no more than five or six weeks to teach.

Unit Sequence in From Subject to Citizen



As one can see, the ordering of the units is deliberately intended to relate English and American experience. It seems clear to us that any study of the emergence of an independent American political culture and governmental system must occur in part in a context of related English experience. Thus, each of the first three units, based largely in seventeenth century English history, has its counterpart or analogue in one of the three units dealing with eighteenth century America. Unit I,

for example, has its counterpart in Unit IV. In both of these units we approach the question of general culture and the character of political culture. Unit I opens up for study salient social, economic, and political features of the late Elizabethan social order. The material of this unit is principlly occupied with ideas about society and government which migrated from England to the colonial world. In Unit IV, colonial society is studied to see how it diverged from English society and in particular to examine the foundations of a new participant political culture which ultimately predisposed colonists to independence and the formation of a new political system of their own.

To some degree a comparable analogy exists between Unit II and Unit V. In Unit II we are dealing with a moment in England's history when conflict of political cultures led to the violent overthrow of one political system and its replacement by another. Unit V heeds what John Adams said in 1818, that the American Revolution was made in the minds and hearts of men and was, in a valid sense, over in 1776. Our object is principally to investigate developments between 1763 and 1776 which led significant Americans to conclude that the colonies must separate from the English political system and become independent. We are not preoccupied with the War of Independence, except insofar as the intervention of France was a decisive factor. Units II and V raise questions about why and how men come to oppose constituted authority and follow their opposition across the threshold of violence in the form of war. Questions of power relationships and political culture are at the heart of both units.

Both Unit III, *The Glorious Revolution*, and Unit VI, *The American Constitution*, are occupied with the study of how a revised or new system of power is arranged and rationalized. The Glorious Revolution was, of course, not a violent conflict but a settlement of conflict which had kept England in turmoil for the best part of a century. It marked the constitution of a political system on such consolidated and clear terms that great stability ensued; there were few substantial changes in the English political system until after the 1830's. Unit VI, *The American Constitution*, is analogous in the sense that it deals with organizing a satisfactory new political system to replace the one rejected by the successful war for independence. Constitutional and governmental philosophies which had been used

in justification of the Glorious Revolution played a part in our own constitutional period. The success of our constitution-makers in resolving vexing problems of authority and governance resulted in a high measure of continuing stability for the American state.

Among these units within *From Subject to Citizen*, the most advanced in preparation and testing is Unit IV, The Colonial Unit, entitled *The Emergence of the American*. Each of the six units differs from the others in specific features, but all share enough in style so that a review of Unit IV may illustrate the way we are moving with the whole course. The Colonial Unit was published in experimental form by Random House under contract with ESI in September, 1965. It is presently being tried in some 250 classrooms in various parts of the country.

The design of the Colonial Unit is controlled by the concept of political culture changing over time. The political components of the general culture that English settlers brought with them to the New World were chiefly, but not exclusively, subject-oriented. In the course of their encounter with the wilderness and in settling it, their general culture diverged from that of England, and its political components became increasingly participant-oriented. While still thinking of themselves as Englishmen, the colonists became Americans.

In one sense, the Colonial Unit is preoccupied with the emergence of distinctive American general culture. It allows students to discover answers to the question, *What, then, is the American, this new man?* posed by the eighteenth century French observer, de Crèvecoeur. But the unit is not principally an exercise in the study of national character or sectional differences in American character. The main object of the unit is to explore conditions under which an American *participant political culture* emerged.

As a unique general culture developed, retaining many English features and incorporating regional differences, the significant thing for our purpose is *that the new political culture of the colonies became incongruent with the English political system.* At length, lack of congruence between the American political system became so sharp that conflict between the two was a customary fact of life and revolution was in prospect.

The particular historical material of the unit and the concepts of general and political culture central to its design are *not* used solely for informational ends. They are vehicles for giving

students experience in studying causality, value processes, and the formation of defensible explanatory generalizations. Given all these considerations, let's examine selected materials of the Colonial Unit.

For example, consider Part IIA of the Colonial Unit, "Sudbury: A Case Study in New England Land Settlement." Underlying the conception of this part of the unit is a generalization about the causes of change in early American political culture expressed by Professor Edmund S. Morgan:

> . . . widespread ownership of property is perhaps the most important single fact about the Americans of the Revolutionary period. It meant that they were not divided so widely between rich and poor as the people of the Old World. Standing on his own land with spade in hand and flintlock not far off, the American could look at his richest neighbor and laugh . . . Ownership of property gave not only economic independence but also political independence to the average American. In every colony that was to join in the Revolution there was a representative assembly, elected by property holders, which made the laws and levied the taxes. Historians have often assumed that the property qualification confined the suffrage to a small segment of the population. But if most men owned property, as now seems probable, then most could vote.[36]

Part IIA on "Sudbury" is a consumable booklet of relatively short length. "Sudbury" begins with a retrospective look at the conditions of life and land use characteristic of the countryside in medieval times. A typical medieval English manor, Ashmore, is described and depicted by a map. Students examine the open field system of land use in medieval Ashmore, identifying the responsibilities and rights of the peasantry who tilled its soil. Through an excerpt from Eileen Powers' *Medieval People*, students can read about and discuss the life of a medieval peasant named Bodo. Reading about the way Bodo lived, what he knew and did not know, what he could do and could not do gives students a vivid sketch of the manorial system in the most concrete human terms. Bodo was part of a parochial-subject culture in which land ownership and political participation were equally unavailable to him. The retrospective look at farm life in the medieval period also uses a set of five glowingly beautiful prints from the *Book of Hours* of the Duke De Berry. These prints are taken from originals presently in Chantilly; while

French, the pictures allow students a pictorial representation of medieval social hierarchy from serf to *seigneur* which was equally typical of manorial life in England at the time.

Against this retrospective backdrop, "Sudbury" takes students through a fascinating series of events in the life of one real man, Peter Noyes, who moved from England to America in 1637. Thanks to Pulitzer Prize winner Sumner Chilton Powell, we know a great deal about Peter Noyes.[37] The facts of Peter Noyes' life in England and America, and other information we have about the town of Marlborough, Massachusetts give an invaluable case record of the rapid diffusion of land ownership which accompanied settlement of English colonists in New England. Peter Noyes is studied in Weyhill, England, the open field manorial village from which he came. He is then studied at Watertown, in Massachusetts, where he first settled. We follow him to Sudbury, where he finally settled and where the Noyes family remains today. A group of men who were with Noyes in Sudbury are then followed to their settlement of the new town of Marlborough, a few miles farther west.

The case study is not a long didactic presentation. Instead, step by step, as Peter Noyes moves from Weyhill to Watertown to Sudbury – and as others move farther to Marlborough – relevant records of the time are used. These include land distribution lists, maps, town records, and the like. Students work through these materials, formulating hypotheses step by step as they go. In the process, they encounter an evident breakdown of medieval concepts of social status and land rights. Common land ownership in a ranked society gives way to individually-owned land in a much more equalitarian and mobile society. "Sudbury" involves students in speculating about factors that conditioned the distribution of land, and has them try their own hands at dividing up land and comparing their own decisions with decisions that were actually made by colonial settlers. They generalize about the causes of change and the democratization of land ownership; in addition they hypothesize about the relationship between increasing equality of land ownership and political attitudes and behavior. A sequel to "Sudbury" uses colonial materials to enable students to contrast land settlement in Virginia with that in New England.

Part III of the Colonial Unit adapts the technique of simulation and gaming, sometimes used at the level of graduate instruction, for getting inside the mercantilist economic and political

system of the British Colonial Empire in the eighteenth century.[38] The game of *Empire* engages students of the entire class in team play of trading relationships, using commodities, prices, tariffs, and other information from the late 1730's. Factors of competition, smuggling, negotiation, time delays of travel and transportation across the Atlantic, and other matters are taken into account. Each student is asked to become a member of one of several interest groups who were involved in eighteenth century trade within the empire: e.g., London merchants, Colonial farmers, New England merchants, Southern planters, and West Indian planters. For each team, the aim of the game is to increase its own wealth. The game takes a minimum of four to five class hours to play; at the end of play that team has won which has increased its original wealth by the greatest percentage. Teams negotiate trading contracts between each other, and goods are exchanged by sea on a large table map prepared for us by the American Geographical Society. Several students manage the clearance of contracts and the timing of travel on the map itself. A team's cargo may be lost at sea by chance (storm, piracy, other disasters), and the political power of England is felt both through import-export duties and the protective strength of the royal navy. Students experience London's monopoly of manufactured goods, confront arbitrary trading regulations, choose whether to risk smuggling or not and see the delays imposed by trans-Atlantic voyages.

As students play the game of *Empire*, they are backstopped by other parts of the unit which make them more familiar with their eighteenth century counterparts. For example, one piece of material, on "The New England merchant," is a series of communications between Joseph Lee and Company and Captain Zachariah Burchmore, who commanded the company's ship, the *Union*. Another piece employs materials from George Washington's life to suggest what it was like to be a Virginia planter. Students begin with George Washington's description and map of his plantation, Mt. Vernon. They examine notes from his diaries and letters to his agent in London. They see what his daily tasks were like, who the people were who worked on the plantation, and they examine Washington's views on slavery, presented in his will and in some of his correspondence. Another packet is drawn from the eighteenth century autobiography of Gustavus Vasa, a Negro whose life began with slavery in Africa, who went through the terrible Middle Passage to

America, who became skilled and literate and finally a freedman, and whose long life ended in England.

Among its other materials, the Colonial Unit contains a packet contrasting colonial government in theory with colonial government in practice. The theoretical structure of imperial control over the colonies appears nice and neat and orderly. Against this theoretical structure, students are asked to compare two brief case studies of colonial government in practice. The Burnet Case (Massachusetts, 1728) and The Clinton Case (New York, 1747) reveal a sharp contrast between colonial practice and imperial theory. In both cases, a colonial assembly resisted a royal governor and showed its indifference to his "power." By working through these materials students discover that *ought* and *is* are not always the same in government and politics, and that a political system which does not fit a political culture is likely to have its troubled moments:

> Administration of the colonies was left to the King, who turned it over to his Secretary of State for the Southern Department (whose principal business was England's relations with Southern Europe). The Secretary left it pretty much to the Board of Trade and Plantations, a sort of chamber of commerce with purely advisory powers. The Board of Trade told the Secretary what to do; he told the Royal Governors; the Governors told the colonists; and the colonists did what they pleased.[39]

In preparation for extensive field trials of the Random House version of the Colonial Unit, a Teachers' Institute was conducted in July, 1965 by Miss Nona Plessner and Mr. Joseph L. Featherstone at Endicott House in Dedham, Massachusetts. Miss Plessner and Mr. Featherstone, with Professor Edmund S. Morgan of Yale and Dr. Robert Brandfon of Holy Cross, had been principals in the design and construction of the Colonial Unit. The Institute included master teachers from New York City, Newton (Mass.), Jefferson County (Colo.), the North Carolina Advancement School at Winston-Salem, Boston (Mass.), the Friends Schools of Philadelphia, Lexington (Mass.), New Canaan (Conn.), Quincy (Mass.), Washington, D. C., Wellesley (Mass.), and West Hartford (Conn.). In addition to field trials of the Colonial Unit in these places in 1965-1966, arrangements have been made for testing the Unit in schools in the following places:

Texarkana, Arkansas	Grand Forks, North Dakota
Covina, California	Piqua, Ohio
Pocatello, Idaho	Monongahela, Pennsylvania
Cairo, Illinois	Nashville, Tennessee
Ellsworth, Iowa	Salt Lake City, Utah
Talullah, Louisiana	South Milwaukee, Wisconsin

It is planned that field tests will include student examinations prepared with the help of the Educational Testing Service of Princeton, N. J. and depth interviews with the teachers who have used the materials.

The Civic Culture

The least developed of the three courses in our sequence is the third, which we call for present convenience, *The Civic Culture*.[40] As we presently conceive it, this course will build upon *From Subject to Citizen* by examining the nature of modern American political culture, its evolution and effects in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and its contemporary problems and prospects. We distinguish *The Civic Culture* in certain ways from usual ninth grade courses in civics. The concept of civic culture is a specific application of the concept of political culture. It has been described as "a pluralistic culture based on communication and persuasion, a culture of consensus and diversity, and culture that permitted change but moderated it. This was the civic culture."[41]

It is not just:

> the political culture that one finds described in civics textbooks, which prescribe the way in which citizens ought to act in a democracy. The norms of citizen behavior found in these texts stress the participant aspects of political culture. The democratic citizen is expected to be active in politics and to be involved. Furthermore he is supposed to be rational in his approach to politics, guided by reason, not by emotion. He is supposed to be well informed and to make decisions – for instance, his decision on how to vote – on the basis of careful calculation as to the interests and the principles he would like to see furthered. This culture, with its stress on rational participation . . ., we can label the "rationality-activist" model of political culture.

> The civic culture shares much with this rationality-activist model; it is, in fact, such a culture *plus something else.* It does stress the participation of individuals. . . . But there is something else.[42]

Some of the "something else" is that the "civic culture" is a participant culture in which the participants feel *allegiance* to the political system. In it, the political culture and the political system are congruent, not in conflict. Another part of the "something else" is that the civic culture contains within it a mixture of subject and parochial as well as participant orientations. The real civic culture is not a simple, idealized, all-out participant affair. Attitudes favorable toward participation in the political system have a major part in the civic culture. But they are fused with and balanced by essentially nonpolitical attitudes (e.g., trust in people, privatism, etc.) which tend to give the civic culture a certain stability and sanity along with its capabilities for activity and change. The civic culture is part of what the West has given to the world. Its development in the United States and Great Britain – and in different ways in Switzerland, Scandinavia, and the Low Countries – is advanced more than in other parts of the world. Its future is problem-filled and uncertain. The most attractive features of the open polity and the civic culture are that they represent man's discovery of a "humane and conservative way to handle social change and participation . . ." [43]

As we see it now, in various ways a course with this conception in mind will seek to get at the following things:

1. *The Nature of the American Political Culture.* The course will seek to make more explicit that the central characteristics of American political culture grew out of the experience of Americans, who were mainly Anglo-Saxon Protestants, in the circumstances of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Discovery of ways in which a political culture is part of a larger culture will be encouraged by the materials of the course. Characteristics of the American political culture which the materials will enable students to explore will include such things as widespread participation, vast diffusion of power, multiplicity and diversity of expression of group interests, the functions of nationalism and partriotism, egalitarianism, and the secularization of the political system.

2. *The Centrality of Political Culture in American Life.* The course will emphasize how important politics is and has been

to Americans as an essentially non-ideological feature of our social experience. In this connection, it will focus on the power of the political culture, illustrated by the tremendous demands it makes on immigrants who must conform to it. The course will underline the primacy of the civic culture in the process of Americanization: here a man defines his Americanism by adapting to the beliefs, style, and action which are accepted elements of the political culture.

3. *The Process of Political Acculturation.* Some of what is intended here is suggested in the paragraph above. The point, however, is not alone that all groups have had to accommodate themselves to the powerful centrality of political culture in American life, but that they have brought this accommodation off so well. Diverse nationality and ethnic groups entering American society from far different general and political cultures have had to conform to the civic culture and to pay the price of admission. In so doing, however, they have exhibited an amazing amount of versatility and ability to learn to use the opportunities of a participant system. Here we are familiar with the ethnic group political *bloc,* consciousness of ethnic group interests, foreign language newspapers, ethnic group political leaders, and the like.

4. *The Problems of Special Sub-Cultures.* In at least one instance, the course will deal with the difference between general acculturation and political acculturation. Roman Catholics, as a religious group, found their way into the general culture with less difficulty than they did into the political culture. In many sectors, frequently depending upon the strength of their ethnic group base, Roman Catholics were able to enter into the political culture and system as effective actors in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But so strong was the Protestant flavor of the American political culture that it was not until 1960 that a Roman Catholic candidate was elected President of the United States. Noticeably, no practicing Jew has ever been a serious contender for the presidency.

5. *The Problems of the American Polity.* The course will aim to explore some of the great unresolved problems of the civic culture. Among these certainly will be the lack of resolution of the American Dilemma: the continuing difficulty of the political culture and polity fully to resolve the problem of citizenship for American Negroes.

It is possible that the materials of the course will be designed mainly to allow students to explore how the American political culture reacts to, overcomes, and absorbs the political culture of immigrant groups. If the course does this, we will hope to develop the cultural empathy in students which can come from a recurrent awareness of the differences of other groups and their struggle to enter into the general and political culture of American society. Materials for such a course are many. There are memoirs, letters, diaries, and novels by immigrants and by those rooted in the established political culture. There are also the commentaries of foreigners visiting in the United States. Now, we also have abundant primary material written by Americans who are living overseas and experiencing cultures at radical odds with our own. There is the passionate literature of Negro protest. For students, there should be a superb opportunity in the course for autobiographical work. They can find out more about their grandparents, their great grandparents: Where did these relatives come from? What were their views on politics? What kind of political life did they have in the old country? What kind did they enter into here?

We feel that *The Civic Culture* as a course should help students develop an increasing sophistication about sociological and anthropological conceptual tools. Here, more than in the preceding two courses, we will aim for straightforward study of such concepts as role, status, class, stereotyping, etc. Again, the course should reassert in more direct fashion than before the central concept of political science, that of power. By concentrating on the experience of groups, immigrant and Negro, engaged in the struggle for political acculturation, students may see how deprivation or fear of deprivation combined with an awareness of the possibility of remedy through political action are powerful sources of political behavior.

The plans for the course, as I have said, are still in a formative stage. Those who are engaged in the planning are moving in general along the lines that I have indicated here. One of the basic principles we have followed in the whole of the ESI Social Studies Project is that one defines one's position best by acting. Therefore, there is at present less concern about the fine contours of the total course than there is for developing a prototype unit which can be tried out in classrooms. A working party is concentrating, therefore, on exploring possible forms of a unit on the struggle of the American Negro for full citizenship in the Ameri-

can polity. Materials which are to be used will be drawn chiefly from the past one hundred years, from the Emancipation Proclamation to the Civil Rights Act of 1965. They will include, early on, examination of Negro and white reactions to emancipation, and the debates over the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

The senior scholar for this prototype unit has stressed that:

> It should become immediately clear to students that the problem of the Negro in relationship to the political culture, and more especially to the civic culture, is fundamentally different than for other groups. It took constitutional amendments to open up strategic options for Negroes. . . .
>
> In every period, we want to use the autobiographical material of at least one southern Negro, northern Negro, southern white, and northern white. . . .
>
> In picking material, it is important to keep in mind that we want to illumine certain questions and issues, but we also want to throw light on social science concepts in a way that gives them relevance for students in this course and outside of it. . . .[44]

Summary

I have been able to give, in this description of the junior high school phase of the E.S.I. Social Studies Program, only a touch of the story. There is much more to tell about. I would like to describe the way disadvantaged children at Gaynor Junior High School in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn were able to handle – aided by an excellent teacher – the *Subject to Citizen* materials. It would be good to be able to record at least some of the innumerable contributions that have been made to our work by Joseph Loretan and the New York City public schools, by Charles Brown and the Newton (Massachusetts) public schools, and others in the field of education. Some of our debt to teachers and children in the Bronx, in Jefferson County, Colorado, in Boston, and in at least two score other places should somehow be set down. Literally dozens of teachers and scholars could add much to the telling of the story.

In the junior high school phase of the E.S.I. Social Studies Program, we have proceeded from what is known about intellect and the role of discovery in learning. I have indicated that we are more interested in the increase of intellectual capabilities than we are in retention and recall of subject matter for its own sake. We are interested in social studies curriculum which will give children opportunities to discover regularities and uniformities in the social universe around them. We are looking for curriculum materials and exercises through which children can experience the excitement of conscious generalization, and come to general statements whose utility will help them order phenomena in other times and places. We are keen for students to get their hands on the idea of causality and recognize that multiple causation is the state of affairs safest to assume. We are aiming to heighten an awareness of the part values play in all of social experience, and to increase the capacity of students to determine their own values.

Our basic orientation in building curriculum models for the junior high school is political. The theme is Aristotelean: *Man As A Political Being*. Our reasoning, as noted in connection with the research of Easton and Hess, is that early adolescence is a critical period in the stabilization of an American child's political development. The evidence suggests that the school is the most important agency through which political socialization is effected by formal means.

With this thinking in mind, we have used two principal concepts of modern political science as the organizing ideas for social studies curriculum in the junior high school: power and political culture. In addition to the historical data which our courses and units use, one should emphasize that *power and political culture, even if not consciously conceptualized, are part of the texture of life in the classroom, the school, the street, and the home*. An unending supply of subject matter involved with power relationships and political culture is at hand to study in the here and now, face-to-face world. We expect that teachers and students *will frequently relate past questions of power and political culture to present instances available in their experience*. I have suggested how and why we are using selected historical materials in a sequence of three courses, *Inventing the Western World*, *From Subject to Citizen*, and *The Civic Culture*. Certainly no perfect case is pretended for this overall design nor are we shooting for what one friendly interrogator called a "wall-

to-wall curriculum." *Man As A Political Being* is simply a roughly coherent but highly flexible framework within which we can construct model materials. At the very least, we find it exciting to try.

In sum, I hope it is accurate to say the following things about the work we have done so far. At their best:

Our materials tend to be selectively related to ideas which arise out of the work of scholars who deal with the study of men and society.

They tend to provide children with the kinds of data that scholars themselves work through in their own quest for meaning.

They tend to present these data in ways that demand inductive as well as deductive analysis.

They tend to give children an opportunity to discover structure in the relationship of ideas to each other and to find and cope with disparities and dilemmas among competing ideas and conflicting data about society.

They contain opportunities for learning to handle social science data and ideas in geography, economics, sociology, anthropology, political science, psychology, and archaeology.

They are conceived in good measure with inventiveness and with a sense of what may catch the curiosity and imagination of children.

The materials are selected – whether as evidence from the past to give some feeling for the continuities of human experience or from the present to give some sense of the contemporary world – always with the idea that to increase the power of the student to deal with the modern condition is the end in view.

Appendix

Persons Associated With the ESI Junior High School Social Studies Project

As noted in the Introduction, this list does not attempt to differentiate among special contributions which have been made. These naturally vary greatly, as do the experience, eminence, and degree of participation of those mentioned.

Clark Abt
Medhi Raza Ali
Harald Bakken
Henry Bragdon
Robert Brandfon
Marvin Breslow
Crane Brinton
Alison Evans
Joseph L. Featherstone
Edith Fenton
Naomi Fleischman
Elaine W. Fowler
Lawrence Fuchs
John S. Gibson
Thomas S. Gilmore
Patricia Goler
Jean D. Grambs
Erich Gruen
Neil Harris
George Homans
Priscilla Hundley
Grace Jager
Martha Kalkut
Michael Kammen
Terry Knopf
Mark Krupnik
Richard McCann
Cary McCormick
Edmund S. Morgan
Robert O'Neil
David Ransome
Harriet Reif
Arleigh Richardson III
Garrett Rosenblatt
Nona Plessner
Kay Pollock
Frederick Pratt
Susan Sager
Sidney Sandor
Elizabeth Scott
Sally Scully
Bradbury Seasholes
Gary Thorpe
Gretchen Tucker
Gerard Warden
William Warntz
Peter Wolff
Jeffrey Williams
Louis B. Wright
Duncan Yaggy

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2. *Ibid.*, pp. 477-79. Italics ours.
3. Jerome S. Bruner, *On Knowing: Essays for the Left Hand.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962, p. 82.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 87. Bruner refers to this statement as an hypothesis in need of testing – an hypothesis we cannot afford not to test, and one which must be tested in the schools.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 88 and p. 92.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-96.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
9. *Loc. cit.*
10. John Holt, *Why Children Fail.* New York: Pitman Publishing Corporation, 1964, p. 174.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 175, p. 179.
12. Jerome S. Bruner, *The Process of Education.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960, p. 17.
13. David M. Potter, "Explicit Data and Implicit Assumptions in Historical Study," in *Generalization in the Writing of History,* Louis Gottschalk, editor. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963, p. 190.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 187.
15. Edward Hallett Carr, *What Is History?* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963, p. 174.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 113, 116.
17. J. H. Hexter, *Reappraisals in History,* Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1961.
18. Potter, *op. cit.*, p. 181.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
20. *Cf.*, for example, *The Language of Social Research,* edited by Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955.
21. Charles E. Merriam, *The Making of Citizens: A Comparative Study of Civic Training.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931.
22. The definition of political socialization with which Easton and Hess are working include the emergence of (1) affective attachment to the nation, (2) affective attachment to the government and its representatives, (3) relationship to the compliance system (law, law enforcement figures and institutions, etc.), (4) a sense of efficacy and the acquisition of influence skills in relation to government, and (5) involvement in election processes and political parties.

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31. Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy In Five Nations*. Princeton, N. J.: The Princeton University Press, 1963.
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-21. My discussion here is drawn from Almond and Verba but may, in its attempt at simplicity, do violence to their carefully-delineated typology.
33. Robert G. Hanvey, "On Raising The Standard Of Learning In The Social Studies." Unpublished paper, n.d.
34. David McNeill, *Linguistic Skills for History Students*. Occasional Paper No. 2. Cambridge, Mass.: Educational Services Inc., 1965, p. 19.
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36. Edmund S. Morgan, *The Birth of the Republic: 1763-1789*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, paper edition, 1962, p. 7.
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38. For a recent symposium on techniques of simulation and gaming in graduate instruction, management, political analysis, military operations, etc., see *Simulation in Social Science*, Harold Guetzkow, editor. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1962. See also Clark Abt, *Heuristic Games for Secondary Schools*, unpublished paper, 1965, for a discussion of gaming as a pedagogical technique for classroom use.
39. Morgan, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.
40. This title, of course, is borrowed from Almond and Verba, *op. cit.*
41. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
44. Professor Lawrence Fuchs, ESI Working Party Memorandum, Mimeo., April 30, 1965.